22 (a)

THE GREAT CASE OF TRANSPLANTATION IN IRELAND DISCUSSED;

OR,

Certain Conſiderations, wherein the many great inconveniences in the tranſplanting the Natives of *Ireland* generally out of the three Provinces of *Leinſter*, *Ulſter*, and *Munſter*, into the Province of *Connaught*, are ſhewn.

Humbly tendered to every individual Member of Parliament, by a Well-wiſher to the good of the Commonwealth of *England*.

London, Printed for *John Crook*, and are to be ſold at his Shop at the Sign of the Ship in St. *Paul's* Churchyard. 1655.

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BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

The great Caſe of Tranſplantation in Ireland *diſcuſſed* &c.

THE planting of *Ireland* is the ſubject of many mens Deſires, moſt mens Diſcourſe, of few mens Endeavours; ſome of theſe few, deeming themſelves lead by Principles of Religion, in order to the purity of the Goſpell, ſome by principles of publique good, in order to the preſervation of the Engliſh Nation and Intereſt entire; Some by Principles of Advantage, in order to the fixing Engliſh Eſtates, where the hazard may be leaſt, and profit greateſt, urge earneſtly the tranſplanting of the *Iriſh* (pardon'd for Life, and to continue in the Dominion) into *Connaught*, as the firſt expedient in order to the well planting of that Land; to which purpoſe divers Orders have at ſundry times iſſued; but others, who embrace the ſame Principles, and are alſo deſirous to be lead by them, conceive this concluſion, at leaſt inconſequent (if not contradictory) to thoſe premiſes; and for this perſwaſion, humbly offer theſe Conſiderations.

Concerning Religion.

FIrſt, if the Phyſitians and Attendants muſt neceſſarily caſt out the Patient whenſoever any hazard of infection is poſſible, all diſeaſes are diſperate: But the unitive

principles of Christianity teach us, that separations of persons, are then onely Lawfull when necessary, and then onely necessary when the malignity of the poyson is greater then the vertue of the Antidote, or obligation of duty. Here two things then ought to be weighed.

First, whether it be more probable as things now stand, that the Irish Papists should pervert the English Protestants, or that the English Protestants should convert the Irish Papists.

Secondly, whether the English *Protestants be more obliged by any special duty to continue many of the* Irish *Papists (though the probability of infection were greater) than by that general fear and probable hazard to remove them.*

The consequent of the first disjunction seems most probable on these grounds.

First, Natural Conscience makes all persons, who stand in awe of a Diety, preferre some Religious External Observations before none; When therefore no toleration is given to the exercise of Popery, and the Reformed Religion publiquely professed throughout the Nation, it is very conceivable that Natural Conscience may perswade many Papists (at least) externaly to frequent the Protestant Assemblies; and many have been woon in the Ordinances, who by external Motives were first induc'd to them; But what Temptations in such an Instance may invite Protestants to turn Papists, is not conceivable.

Secondly, By the Cruelty of the Papists in the late Rebellion, the Protestants are more confirmed against Popery (as the Original of those Cruelties) and by those heavy Judgments wherewith God hath avenged the blood of his Servants; The Papists themselves made less in love with that Profession which lead them on to those

thoſe cruelties, and thereby provoked theſe judgments; in this inſtance therefore it is much more probable, Papiſts ſhould be converted than Proteſtants perverted.

Thirdly, when God intwiſts his intereſſe with man's, man is commonly ſo inamoured with his own, that in ſuch a caſe he is not apt to leave God's; and ſuch is the preſent caſe in *Ireland*, it is not even for the civill intereſs of Proteſtants to turn Papiſts, it is for the Papiſts to turn Proteſtants.

Fourthly, in time of peace, when the higheſt externall inducements, ran on the Papiſts ſide yet many Iriſh were reduced to Proteſtaniſm, for every one Engliſh ſeduced to Papiſm.

Objection, Againſt this ſome may perhaps pretend, *That the Papiſts in* Ireland *are hardened in their Idolatry, and few of them converted of late.*

Anſwer, Firſt, that it is not ſtrange if onely few of them be converted, yea it is even wonderfull that any of them ſhould of late be converted conſidering,

Firſt, the heavy preſſures under which they have groaned to the very grinding of them, by which means more families have been deſtroyed under the protection of Proteſtants, then in oppoſition againſt them.

Secondly, the many diviſions among thoſe who are called Proteſtants, and bitterneſſes of thoſe who are thus divided, becauſe by the former the Papiſt ſees not where to fix if he ſhould come to us, and becauſe of the later he ſees not what friends or ſecurity he could partake if the ſhould fix.

Thirdly, the intire neglect of ſending forth inſtruments to inſtruct them; it is ſad obſerve how Garriſons are placed in every quarter where the Iriſh inhabite, Miniſters in none; as if our buſineſs in *Ireland* was onely to ſet up our own intereſs, and not Chriſts.

Fourthly, the lamentable ignorance of moſt and blaſphemous hæreſies of ſome, who have been employed and allowed publick maintenance, in Proteſtant congregations, under the notion of Preachers.

Firſt, ſo that if the Iriſh Papiſts be hardened, we muſt blame our ſelves for it. 'Tis certain that in theſe few places, where Miniſters make it their work, to deal with them and to remove thoſe groſs ſcandals out of the way, they find them, more pliant and flexible to ſubmit to ſcripture directions, then ſome of thoſe who complain of their hardneſs.

Secondly, who art thou who complaines of their hardneſs? didſt thou ever pray for their ſoftning? if no, mourn for thy own hardneſs, if yea, labour for what thou haſt prayed, and preſume not to caſt the duſt off thy feet till thou haſt thus laboured. Many fearing God, and ſtudying the ſpiritual advantage of thoſe poor natives, are confident that the Lord's harveſt in *Ireland* is farr more then the Labourers.

Thirdly, the blade appears not above ground, aſſoon as the ſeed is ſown; ſupernaturall habits are infuſed after the manner of acquired; after good husbandry hath been uſed, ſtand ſtill awhile, and ſee what increaſe the Lord will give; nay what he has given; Many of them deſire now, earneſtly, to put their Children into the Care of the Engliſh of qualitie adjoyning to them; offer largely to their maintenance in the Education of the Religion and manners of England; I ſhall not ſearch mens hearts to cenſure, the doing this for ſiniſter ends; who knows but God may have ſoftned and convinc'd them by his rod; But this is certain, The means is good (though their ends are bad) and God may bring a good end out of that too; The ſon may be ſincere, though he father be a hypocrite, and what his earthly father intended

tended onely for the saving his estate, his heavenly father may advance to the saving of his soul.

Objection. But some may be employed to instruct them as well in Connaught, *if they should be transplanted thither, as if they be not transplanted.*

Answer, First, those that shall be employed, must be either such as are already in the other parts of *Ireland*, or out of *England*: If the first, they must be either Ministers, or Gifted men; For the Ministers, they are so few, that they suffice not the places inhabited already; And for the gifted men, although they (might possibly be spared hither without any considerable loss in them, and to convert heathens (as they count the Irish) were a fitter work for new Apostles (as they count themselves) then to pervert Christians, yet 'tis probable they may be as unwilling to preach, where there is need of them, as they have been forward to intrude themselves, where there was no need of them; But alas, they must first stay at home, and be some years catechiz'd before they go, that so they may be learners before they shall be teachers, Rayling at Ministers; Ordinances, and all the reformed Churches observations will perswade the Papists, they are men of their own Religion, not that will turn them from it; And other Divinity these know not; and for Godly learned Ministers to be brought out of England, to go among the Irish, will sure be a difficult work, when we find it so hard to invite any to come among the English.

Secondly, the company of professors is a powerfull engagement to profession, the setting of brands together, and some already kindled to these unkindled, is the way to get heat, when the spirit of the Lord is pleased to blow them.

Thirdly, mans soul is like a narrow mouth'd bottle, the means

means to fill it, is not to pour buckets of water over it, but to take it ſingly, and pour in the water gently by little and little; publick preaching may be compared to the former, but private catechizing and family duties to the later.

If then theſe Papiſts be ſuffered to continue in the Engliſh plantations, they may enjoy the labours of Godly able Miniſters, the encouragments of Proteſtant profeſſors, and the Catechizings of private Chriſtians, all which are powerfull morall inſtruments to converſion; but if they be tranſplanted, as their conſociation may probably ſettle them on their old lees, ſo their ſeparation certainly deprives them of theſe advantages; And by a perſiſtance in their former Principles, continue them Papiſts ſtill, or by a forgetting them (if poſſible) and no better diſtil'd into them, make them turn Atheiſts.

Secondly, Let us conſider whether there be not ſome ſpeciall obligations which in conſcience and religious duty more binds us to continue theſe poor Natives (though Papiſts) with us, then that general fear and poſſible hazard of infection binds to tranſplant them (eſpecially ſince theſe have been ſhewn to be but Panick.)

It is a clear Maxim in Chriſtian Religion, that we muſt not commit a leſs ſin, though it were to avoyd a greater; in evils of ſuffering the leſs is eligible, in evils of ſin none is aligible; if then this Act of tranſplantation be ſinfull and contrary to theſe obligations which lie on us, the avoydance of future infection will not acquitus, it will not free us from the guilt of murther, to kill our ſelves, leſt another ſhould kill us. Conſider then, That many of thoſe who are thus puniſhed with the guilty, are guiltleſs at man's Tribunall, which onely judgeth of outward expreſſes, the heart and intention thereof being peculiarly ſubjected to the judgment of God who onely

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can only ſearch it; many are ſuch as not only did not act againſt the Engliſh in the Iriſh Rebellion, but did eminently act with them, and for them; and were inſtrumental, not only in the ſerving of ſome privat perſons (which might be the reſult of particular affection) but alſo of ſecuring ſome, & reducing other publique places of ſtrength to the power not onely of the Engliſh Nation, but of the Parliament; and ſhall theſe Innocents be puniſhed with the Guilty? the Lord would not deal ſo with *Sodome*. Heathens did uſe to remark with great Rewards, thoſe who in common Cauſes abſtained from common defections; they that forgot the Bonds of Relation, Religion, and Nation, in the day of our Weakneſs, ſhould not be forgotten in the day of our Powr's. Is it an equal Crime to act with and againſt the Engliſh Nation? Why then is there an equal puniſhment?

Objection. *The avenging of blood is of ſtricteſt obligation, and the Iriſh in the late Rebellion having contracted a national bloud-guilt, no eye muſt pittie them.*

Anſwer. Firſt, if by Nation be meant the greateſt part, the aſſertion is true; but if it be every individuall, then it was ſhewn before, that there was a difference in acting, and therefore ſhould be ſo in puniſhing.

Secondly, Nationall guilt is expiated by nationall judgements; the wickedneſs and bloud-guiltineſs of *Benjamin* did not neceſſitate an univerſall deſtruction, but 2500D. being ſlain, wayes are ſtudied to preſerve the remainder.

Thirdly, particular bloud-guilt of private perſons, is expreſsly excepted from pardon by that act

of Settlement, which vouchsafes pardon to others; and as it is unjust that those who are pardoned, should suffer for the guilt of those who are not: so it is unnecessary that punishment should be inflicted in common, when triall of the guilt and execution of the guilty may be single.

Fourthly, if all murther be unpardonable, and this whole nation be in that degree, guilty of murther, as renders them unpardonable, then no punishment inferiour to death is proportionate unto their guilt; to which it is consequent, that the transplanting them into *Connaught* is unjust, as in the defect being less then that guilt or obligation to punishment, so in the excess removing them from the English, by whose evidence alone the Courts of Justice can proceed to their triall; and therefore tends more to their pardon then punishment.

Fifthly, that even murther is in some cases pardonable, appears by the practise of all States & Armies. *David* did not unjustly to pardon *Abner*, who yet made it a sport to shed bloud; and by the nature of the thing it self, for every unlawfull breach upon man's life is murther, and every Abettor of that breach is guilty of the same murther: since then war may be unlawfull on both sides, but is not ordinarily on both sides lawfull, either the war must continue whilest one man therein ingaged survives, or the guilt of murther is in some cases pardonable.

And if in any cases, then certainly in these two.

First, when the guilt was for most part contracted, either through ignorance or infirmitie.

Secondly, when the pardon directly leads to publick good, and the sparing of a few to the preservation

ſervation of many; The former ingredients make the guilt leſs evill, the later ingredients make the pardon more good. And in the preſent inſtance both theſe concur.

Firſt, the Iriſh nation were generally ingaged in the Rebellion, either through ignorance of the deſign, and apprehending they acted by the King's commiſſion, and for his and God's ſervice; or through infirmitie, partly fearing their Prieſts threats, partly their Land-Lords frownes, partly the violences of others, of the Engliſh who at the beginning reckoned an Iriſh man and a Rebell tantamount, and on that ſcore forced many into war, (who deſired peace) with the Iriſh in armes, who accounted and declared all Enemies, that joyned not (at leaſt ſeemingly) with them, and proceeded with more ſeverity againſt diſſenting natives than Engliſh.

On the cleering of this objection from juſtice, hangs indeed the whole weight of the controverſie; And therefore the doing it ſolidly, can be of no mean concernment; the way will be, by Conſidering of the Reſolution, that the law gives to two or three queſtions, and the application of them to this preſent affaire.

1 *What puniſhment is, what are the ends thereof, and whether and in what Caſes it may be annulled or Abridg'd.*

2 *In what kind of puniſhments the Rulers or generality of a Nation may involve the Commons or each particular.*

3 *How long puniſhment againſt a Nation is to be continued.*

To the firſt, Puniſhment is the evill of ſuffering

enjoyned for the evil of doing. The ends thereof are commonly mistaken, men making punishment the end of punishment, & the gratyifing either the Law it self (which is without sence of the satisfaction) or God (who delights not in suffering, as such) or the party injured (the scratching of whose itch, in the way of revenge, barely, is utterly unlawfull) the truth is, an injury done is unrepealable, and neither God, nor the law of Reason delights in accumulation of suffering, or are pleased with pain (barely as it is paine) Reason dictates, man must do nothing to hurt another man, unless it have some good end, and in the paine of the Enemy alone so nakedly considered, there is no good but false and imaginary; Therefore were it not for whats to come, the Law would never punish (though the greatest crime, for whats past, for thats irreversible; Therefore the sayings of the wise men are, we must come to vengance, not as it were sweet, but profitable; some things are honest simply, some upon necessity, of which sort is punishment; No wise man inflicted a punishment because a fault is done, but that it may be done no more, for justice is not Anger but Caution; to devise how one may bite him that bites us, is the part of a beast; from whence (it follows) although you do no injury, though you punish an offence, yet you likewise do no injury, if you do not punish (unless in connexion with the ends) contrary to the vulgar, who are as inexorable as *Nemesis*, and thinks him the justest man, that like *Draco*, writes all his Laws in Blood. Now the ends of punishment are these three. 1. That the Offender may be rescued from lapsing into the same fault for the future.

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2. The Offended from future injuries; And 3. Example to all by the penance of few.

From whence it will follow (to the third head) contrary to the Stoicks judgement, who say (that punishment is due to the offence, and a wise man gives every one his due, and therefore no delinquency should scape) by better reason, there being not alwaies a juncture of those ends with suffering, That sometimes it may be taken off, or relaxed; Before a penal Law will not seem so strange, but even after a penal Law likewise. If the ends for which punishment was ordained in a moral estimation be not necessary, or if other ends on the opposit part occur, not less profitable and necessary, or if the ends proposed by the punishment may be attain'd any other way.

Answerable to these reasons were their actings: when God gave the Law, he deprived not himself of all power, but reserved a liberty to pardon; none can put any one to death without Law, nor any but the Supream pardon them, sayes another; and this mercy they dispenc'd on these two cautions of Violence and Ignorance, where they found them; for that these take off from voluntary, and that from guilt.

Now if strict Law give thus much scope for mercy, what ought mercy and goodness, which should be in all to their like; but especially when Evangelicall Law (goodness and mercy) commands this too.

To apply this first particular to the case of the Irish, it will thus state it, as was declared before, that though their crimes have been heinous, yet they

are to be punished onely with reflexction (not on their evill past, but the good to come) and then onely if no other way will compass this end, but their punishment, and then onely in such a degree as they are found capable of the diminutions of punishment, Iignorance and Violence; and certainly neither of these will be denied, but that as a great part of them acted through ignorance, so the force of an Army levied was sufficient to compell the rest, &c.

2 The second question is Answered thus; Magistrates may contract guilt from the Commons, they vicissively from their Magistrates and heads, or Rulers, & in sharing in the publick crime, must in the punishment; But it is to be noted likewise, that there are publick punishments and private for example (as when a Common-wealth is overthrown, it suffers a publick death; reduced to a Province, undergoes slavery, a City loses its Walls, Shipping, Officers, Treasure, Laws, Ensigns, Magazines, in sharing these each particular may suffer; But that particular men for the offence of a Community without their consent, should lose the things that are proper to themselves is unjust; publick offences brings publick punishments particular guilt, particular suffering.

Apply this second to the Irish, and let the active ruling part be distinguished from the passive subjective, and publick punishments from particular, and justice is done.

The last question is thus satisfied; How long a Commonalty shall be prosecuted with justice, shall punishment be alwayes exacted while the community last?

No: Thoſe being extinct by whom merit was derived to the Community, the merit it ſelf is alſo extinguiſhed, and puniſhment cannot conſiſt without merit; You may account it a ſufficient puniſhment that none of the offenders are now alive (ſayes the Civil Law) It is a miſtake in mans dealings (though with God juſt) that becauſe Children receive honours and rewards for their fathers good deeds, that they ſhould be puniſhed for their evill; Becauſe a benefit may without injury be conferd on any, but ſo cannot a puniſhment.

This decides the laſt part of the Scruple, touching the Iriſh, for the bloody perſons (known) are all dead by Sword, Famine, Peſtilence, the hand of civill juſtice, or remain ſtill lyable to it, or are fled beyond ſea from it; The Prieſts and Souldiers (the kindlers of the war in the beginning, and fomenters of it ſince) are for the firſt univerſally departed the Land, and for the ſecond, to a vaſt number, and the moſt dangerous, & the remaining, are weary of war, having long ſince ſubmitted, and thoſe that are out, ſue for nothing but mercy; for the poor Commons, the Sun never ſhined (or rather not ſhined) upon a Nation ſo compleatly miſerable; There are not one hundred of them in 10000. who are not by the firſt and fourth Articles, of the act of ſettlement under the penalty of loſing life and eſtate; The Tax ſweeps away their whole Subſiſtence; Neceſſitie makes them turn Theeves and *Tories*, and then they are proſecuted with fire and ſword for being ſo. If they diſcover not *Tories*, the Engliſh hang them, if they do, the Iriſh kill them, againſt whom they have nothing to defend themſelves, nor any other

other that can; nay if any perſon melted with the bowels of a man, or moved by the Rules of Common Equitie, labour to bring home to them that little Mercy which the State allowes, there are ſome ready to aſperſe them as favourers of *Tories*, coverers of bloud guiltineſs; and briefly, in a probable computation five parts of ſix of the whole Nation are deſtroyed, and after ſo ſharp an execution, is it not time at length to ſound a retreat? Muſt we ſtill cry juſtice, juſtice? wherefore is juſtice ſo invok't againſt them? was it not for cruelty? God has aveng'd it; let others take heed how they become guilty, eſpecially they that aveng'd it; The fair vertue of juſtice (overdon) degenerates into the ſtinking weed of Tyranny, Beaſts ſcorn the humble Prey; Heathens having Conquer'd by Juſtice, have conquer'd again by Mercy; The State does intend a Cordial for that Conſumptive Nation; it is onely deſired they would be pleaſed to accelerat it, leſt by dying before, they loſe the opportunity of ſhewing they would at laſt have had pitty.

Secondly, that the Pardon of this national Bloodguilt is ſubſervient to publike good, and in order thereto ought to be extended to all ſuch as are obnoxious to no other guilt than what is Common and National, may be evidenced by diverſe arguments; but in regard they conclude in like kind, againſt the tranſplanting of the Iriſh, into *Connaught*, it is opportune to proceed to the ſecond inſtituted compariſon, whether it be more conducive to the publick good of the Engliſh Nation, and to the preſervation of them intire, to continue the Iriſh or tranſplant them? Conſider therefore.

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2. *Concerning Publick Good.*

THE publick good of *Ireland* respects either the publick Revenue, or the good of the present, or of future English Inhabitants and Planters.

First, For the publick Revenue. The Revenue or Contribution of *Ireland* is generally raised out of Corn, and the Husbandmen of that Corn are generally Irish, the removal therefore of these necessarily infers the failer of that. For,

1. The Irish, who raise their Contribution out of Corn, live themselves on the roots and fruits of their Gardens, and on the milk of their Cows, Goats, and Sheep, and by selling their Corn to the English, provide Money for Contribution; if then the Irish should be thus transplanted, their Corn would not be vendible, not to one another, for all would be Sellers, not to the English; for to carry it 50, 60, or 100 miles to English Plantations, would make it so dear to the Buyer, and cheap to the Seller, that it cannot reasonably be thought practicable.

2. The Lands of *Ireland* are generally so unapt for Corn, without much charge in manuring them, and the Harvest-season so catching, without many hands to save the Corn, that the first Crop seldome (if ever) makes the Husbandman a Saver: if then the Irish be removed from their Lands prepared for Seed, to the waste and uncultivated Lands of *Connaught*, the Lands they leave can pay no Contribution for the first year, because they will become waste till others inhabit; and the Lands to which they remove can pay none, because (being waste) they

muſt ſpend a year of their time, and much of their principal Stock to improve them, before they can derive any ſutable profit out of them.

Secondly, For the preſent Inhabitants, Souldiers, and others.

1. The Souldiers lately disbanded (eſpecially the private Souldiers) have neither Stock, nor Money to buy Stock, nor (for the moſt part) skill in Husbandry: But by the labours of the Iriſh on their Lands, together with their own induſtry, they may maintain themſelves, improve their Lands, acquire Stock, and by degrees inure themſelves ſutably to that courſe of life: But the tranſplantation of the Iriſh leaves theſe poor mens proportions of Land totally waſt; and unleſs they can, like *Nebuchadnezzar*, live on Graſs, they muſt periſh, or ſell too too cheap their dear-bought recompence.

2. The other Inhabitants, by the labours of the Iriſh Tenants or Servants, are enabled to contribute to the publick charge, and maintain themſelves and Families in ſome meaſure: But the tranſplantation of the Iriſh will utterly deprive them of all manner of livelyhood; and as the deſtruction of the Engliſh already planted in *Ireland* is a ſad evil in it ſelf, ſo in its conſequence it can be no encouragement to other Engliſh to plant.

3. Conſiderable numbers of Engliſh Families, (upon the hopes they had of peace and quietneſs) have already ſcattered themſelves into the Country, laid out (what they ſaved thriftily, or got hardly all this long time of languiſhing) to begin a new Fortune with) on purchaſing Farms, buying Stock, building Houſes: But now this early hope muſt be

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nipt in the bud; for if tranſplanting goes forward, (it will ſo multiply *Tories*) the Engliſh cannot poſſibly live in the Country, and their Stock cannot poſſibly live in Towns, and their Improvement and Buildings muſt be utterly loſt, and themſelves totally (when they leaſt feared it) undone.

4. The Army, and all the Inhabitants, derive their Bread, Meat, Drink, all the moſt neceſſary means of living, from the labours of the Iriſh; and if theſe be tranſplanted, then they muſt either fall with their own weight, or purchaſe ſuch ſupports out of *England* at rates too high for their condition, or leave the Land.

Thirdly, For future Inhabitants, Adventurers, Souldiers, and ſuch others as ſhall engage in the planting of *Ireland*. The firſt and chiefeſt Neceſſaries to the ſettlement and advancement of a Plantation, are thoſe natural riches of Food, Apparel, and Habitations. If the firſt be regarded, there are few of the Iriſh Commonalty but are skilfull in Huſbandry, and more exact than any Engliſh in the Husbandry proper to that Country. If the ſecond, there are few of the Women but are skilfull in dreſſing Hemp and Flax, and making of Linnen and Woollen Cloth. If the third, it is believed, to every hundren Men there are five or ſix Maſons and Carpenters at leaſt of that Nation, and theſe more handy and ready in building ordinary Houſes, and much more prudent in ſupplying the defects of Inſtruments and Materials, than Engliſh Artificers. Since then 1000 Acres of Land (Plantation meaſure) being but of indifferent goodnes, with the reſt of the Lands

in *Ireland*, shall require as much Stock as whose original price and charge of transporting will amount to 1500 or 2000l. Since likewise Husbandmen and Tradesmen that are laborious, can subsist by their Labours and Trades comfortably in *England*, and most will not probably leave their native soyl on any terms; and those who will, on extraordinary terms. It is necessarily consequent, that the transplantation of the Irish doth not onely deprive the Planter of those aforementioned advantages, but also so exceedingly aggravates his charge and difficulty in planting (by his irremedicable want of whatever he brings not with him out of *England*) that his charge will manifestly appear to be more than his profit; and it is not easily conceivable how or when five or six Millions of Acres are like to be planted or inhabited upon so clear an account of expence and loss.

Objection. *Against all these advantages it is onely objected, that the English may degenerate, and turn Irish, unless a separation by transplanting the one from the other be observed; and to this purpose experience of former ages is urged.*

Answer. Of future contingents no man can pass a determinate judgement; but if we speak morally, and as probably may be, it may much rather be expected that the Irish will turn English. Those Topicks before instanced concerning Religion do infer it as very probable, that with the Religion professed by the English, it is likely they may receive their Manners also. And this is confirmed by experience of all of that Nation who embraced the Protestant Religion. And as to former experience,

even

even that likewiſe ſeems to add weight to this expectation, becauſe whatever inducements perſwaded the Engliſh formerly to turn Iriſh, the ſame more ſtrongly invite the Iriſh now to turn Engliſh.

1. When *England* was reformed from Popery, no care was took, nor endeavours uſed to ſpread the reformation in *Ireland*, by which means the Engliſh Colonies there continued ſtill Papiſts, and ſo in Religion were alienated from the Engliſh, and and faſtned to the Iriſh: But now it being moſt probable that moſt of the Iriſh will embrace the Proteſtant Profeſſion, it is upon the ſame grounds moſt probable that they will embrace the Engliſh Manners.

2. Former Conqueſts of *Ireland* were either the undertakings of ſome private perſons, or ſo managed by publick perſons, that the power and profitable advantages of the Land remained in the hands of the Iriſh: But as in the preſent Conqueſt the Nation of *England* is engaged, ſo is the power and advantage of the Land in the hands of the Engliſh. For inſtance.

1. The Iriſh were the Body of the People, and too potent for the Engliſh (eſpecially at ſuch times as the troubles of *England* cauſed the Armies to be called thence, which Hiſtorians obſerve to have been the times of degeneration, as a means to ſelf-preſervation.

2. The Iriſh were the general Proprietors of Land, and an Engliſh Planter muſt be their Tenant; and the temptation of this relation and dependence is very prevalent (at leaſt) to bring the Poſterity to a complyance, and that to a likeneſs, and that to a ſameneſs.

3. The

3. The Iriſh were the chiefly eſtated, and the intermarriages with them were accompanied with greater Friends and Fortunes than with the Engliſh, who were not onely Strangers, but for the moſt part (till of late years) comparatively poor.

4. The Lawyers were Iriſh, the Jurors Iriſh, moſt of the Judges Iriſh, and the major part of their Parlament Iriſh; and in all Diſputes between Iriſh and Engliſh, the Iriſh were ſure of the favour.

But now the condition of *Ireland* is (through Gods goodneſs) ſo altered, that all theſe Arguments are much more forcibly perſwaſive, that the Iriſh will turn Engliſh.

3. The frequent uſe of the Iriſh Language in all commerce, and the Engliſhes habituating themſelvs to that Language, was one great means of Iriſhfying the Engliſh Colonies: But now the Language will be generally Engliſh; and if the Iriſh be mingled with the Engliſh, they will probably learn and be habituated to the English Tongue, which is found by experience to be ſuddenly learn'd by the Irish; whereas if they be tranſplanted into *Connaught*, the diſtinction of the English and Irish tongue will not onely be continued, but alſo the Irish left without means of learning English.

3. *Concerning the Security of the Engliſh, and their Intereſs.*

1. FOR the preſent, This Plantation will neceſſarily make many *Tories*. For,

1. Many Inhabitants, who are able to ſubſiſt on their

their Gardens in their preſent Habitations, are unable to ſubſiſt in travelling to *Connaught*; and for the preſent to derive ſubſiſtence from the waſt Lands of *Connaught*, when they come thither; and therefore will rather chooſe the hazard of *Torying*, than the apparent danger of ſtarving.

2. Many Irish Maſters will disburthen themſelves of their attendants and ſervants on this occaſion, in regard the charge of retaining them will be greater, and their imployment of them leſs, both in the journey, and journeys end; and theſe ſervants, however diſpoſed to honeſt labour and induſtry, yet being thus ſecluded from means of ſubſiſtence, neceſſity will enforce to be *Tories*.

3. The range of the *Tories* will be ſo great, and advantages thereby of ſecuring themſelves and Cattel ſo much, that untill the whole Land be otherwiſe planted, it will not be probable that our Armies ſhould either have intelligence of their places of abode in their faſtneſſes, or be enabled to find them; thoſe who are acquainted with the ſervice of *Tory*-hunting, know much of this difficulty. And impoſſible it is, that thoſe parts of the Land which adjoyn to thoſe Faſtneſſes, ſhould be planted in many ages, if *Tories* (ſecured in them) make incurſions on ſuch as ſhall plant.

4. The Irish numbers (now ſo abated by Famin, Peſtilence, the Sword, and Forein Tranſportations) are not like to overgrow the English as formerly, and ſo no fear of their being obnoxious to them hereafter: but being mixed with, they are likelyer to be ſwallowed up by the English, and incorporated into them; ſo that a few Centuries will know

no

no difference present, fear none to come, and scarce believe what were pass'd. The chiefest and eminentest of the Nobility, and many of the Gentry, have taken Conditions from the King of *Spain*, and have transported at several times 40000 of the most active spirited men, most acquainted with danger and discipline of War, and inured to hardness; the Priests are all banished; the remaining part of the whole Nation are scarce the sixth part of what were at the beginning of the War, so great a devastation has God and Man brought upon that Land, and so far are they from those formidable numbers they are (By those that are Strangers to *Ireland*) conceived to be; and that handfull of Natives left, are poor laborious pitifull simple Creatures, whose design is onely to live, and their Families, the manner of which is so low, that it is a design rather to be pitied, than by any body feared, envyed, or hindred.

Secondly, For the future. By this Transplantation;

1. The Irish Commonalty are put under the power of those Chiefs, who have engaged them in so much Blood in the late Rebellion.

2. They are collected into one Rendezvouz, and so fitted for an united undertaking, when occasion shall be administred. *Scilurus*, his Arrows might easily be broke singly, but bound in one bundle, they abide any stress.

3. They are seated in a Country furthest distant from *England*, and for the Sea shore most remote from the course of the English Fleet, where therefore they may receive Arms from any Forein Prince with most security, modelize themselves into Arms, and

and be furniſh'd irreſiſtably for a new war; by means of theſe advantages, the Engliſh in the laſt Rebellion firſt loſt *Connaught*, and laſt regained it.

Fourthly, they exceedingly miſtake who imagine that the paſſage out of *Connaught* into the other three Provinces is difficult, or may be eaſily defended againſt the Iriſh, if they ſhould thus be armed and fitted for a new war.

Whereas it is evidently for the ſecuritie of the Engliſh and Engliſh intereſſe, to divide the Iriſh one from the other, eſpecially the Commonaltie from the Cheifs, and both from the advantages of receiving probable aſſiſtants from Foreiners.

Objection. *But notwithſtanding many of theſe inducements to joyn with the Engliſh, yet many of the Iriſh have of late turned* Tories, *by means of this cohabitation.*

Anſwer. The miſtake is great in attributing that effect to this cauſe. The reall cauſes of thoſe later *Tories* are ſuch as theſe.

Firſt, the Common-wealth's neceſſitie for money to maintain the Army of *Ireland*, brought the protected people under a tax ſo inſupportable, that the generalitie of them were forced to a monethly diminution of their principall ſubſtance, which by degrees brought laborious husbandmen to ſo ſad a ſtate of povertie, that they were neceſſitated to this hard choice of ſtarving or turning *Tories*.

Secondly, Lawes were impoſed on the protected to diſcover and reſiſt Enemies upon pain of death although they neither had nor were allowed Armes or means to inable them to it, or defend themſelvs; nor could the Law-givers protect them ei-

ther in their eſtates, or lives, from that Enemie to whoſe malice and fury the obſervance of thoſe Lawes made them liable; ſo that both the contempt of, and obedience to them, expoſed theſe poor people to be puniſhed with death either by the Engliſh or Iriſh.

Thirdly, the violence and oppreſſion by ſome of the Souldiers inflicted on them is incredible; and by the injured people's juſt fear to complain, many horrible facts of this nature go daily unpuniſhed.

Fourthly, the narrowneſs and ſtreightneſs of the Parliaments conceſſions of mercy to that Nation in the firſt and fourth article of the act of ſettlement, which doth not declare one in 500. pardonable either for life or eſtate; and when men ſee a line of deſtruction meaſuring out their portion, nature teaches them to perſerve their lives as long, and ſell them as dear as they can, by reſiſting to the uttermoſt, the power of that ſtate whoſe declared reſolves exempt them from all mercy.

Object. *But if this toleration of Iriſh cohabiting be allowed, the Adventurers and Souldiers (it is feared) will acquieſce in them rather than expoſe themſelves to the expence and difficultie of tranſporting and planting with Engliſh.*

Anſw. All the Iriſh, and all their ſtock is not proportionate to the fifth part even of the three provinces, and therefore cannot ſatisfie the proprietors ends, of planting their land; though being advantagiouſly diſperſed and diſpoſed of, they may be inſtrumentall by their labours, and induſtry, to make preparation for, and to facilitate the ſettlement of ſuch others as the planters muſt neceſ-

ſarily

ſarily bring thither for the full improvement of his Land.

Thus we ſee no neceſſity of this tranſplanting, in regard of the three great ends alledged, Religion, Profit, Safety, but rather ſo great a neceſſity of them, that there's no reaſon at all for it.

But there is one thing more which wiſe men will conſider, and that is, the impoſſibility of this tranſplanting. Among the five things, Impoſſiblilities are one head that are excluded deliberation. There are Laws made, and Orders gone out, for their going Univerſally into *Connaught* by *March* next; But ſuppoſe they ſhould have a dram of Rebellious blood ſtill in them, or be ſullen and not go; It is not impoſſible but this may be ſo, nay it is certain it will be ſo, for they were by Orders to remove long ſince, and yet an inconſiderable part onely obeyed, the generality chooſing to run all hazards obſtinately, than condeſcend.

They ſay they can but find want and ruine, (at the worſt) if they ſtay, and why ſhould they travel ſo far, for that which will come home to them? can it be imagin'd that a whole Nation will drive like Geeſe at the wagging of a hat upon a ſtick? but theres an Army to compell them; I, this is the way to have an Army, nay to have two Armies, one more then we would (of the Enemies) and then perhaps to have one leſs then we would again, never a one of our friends; Surely more Engliſh Souldiers have periſht by the Countrey, then the Sword of the Iriſh; They are more afraid of *Tories* then Armies, and Woods and Boggs then Camps where; It will be harder to find them then vanquiſh them; And

when will this wild war be finiſhed? *Ireland* Planted, Inhabitants unburthened, Souldiers ſetled? at this rate who will be able to ſtir abroad for fear, to live at home for want? And when a dangerous experiment has been tryed, it may be Quiet will be ſought at a dearer rate then it might be found now; It's a ſad thing to fight againſt men till they are reduced to us, & then to fight againſt them, becauſe they will not part from us.

And that this is certainly the true ſtate of the controverſie (and not any dregs) of Rebellion in them unpurg'd, yet will by this evidently appear, that thoſe whom Fear or Want has made lately to ſwell the number of the *Tories* ſo much (to ſhew their diſpoſition to quietneſs) did at their firſt going out, and do ſtill continue to offer ſecuritie for their peacable demeanors in the Engliſh quarters, if they may be accepted, and to take the firſt opportunity, to go beyond ſea for Souldiers; And if this will not be granted, who knows what deſperation may make them willing to do, and us unwillingly to ſuffer?

Although to diſcover ſo many monſtrous and evident dangers and loſſes neceſſarily impending upon the generall removall of the Iriſh out of the three Provinces into *Connaught*, and not againſt ſmall ſingle, but ſuch ſeverall great Intereſs, *viz* the continuing the Iriſh Papiſts, or making them turn Atheiſts, the knitting again like Worms their divided ſepts and amities which are now cut in ſunder, the entailing barbarouſneſs upon them by ſuch a conſociation for ever, the giving them power to rebell again by crouding them all together, and will, by the great injurie

injury they conceive they have in this action, againſt, which they have ('tis ſtrange) as great a reſentment, as againſt loſs of eſtate, yea even death it ſelf. The aſperſing the Engliſh Nation with Cruelty, ungrateſulneſs, and in ſome ſort unfaithfulneſs. The deſtruction of the States Revenue, the ſtanding Army, the disbanded Souldiery, former Engliſh Inhabitants, preſent Adventurers, and future Planters.

Though it were enough to repreſent barely a *Hydra* ſo pregnant with miſchievous heads, to have it cut off, and new reſolutions to ſucceed thoſe which have been before, and invention to project on all hands upon what ſurer grounds an action of ſuch moment may be founded: yet if the Parlament ſhall be pleaſed but ſo much to reſpect the good meaning of what is here written, as (by their clemency paſſing by all the infirmities thereof) to let the reſidue fall under the cognizance of any perſons deputed thereto. There are likewiſe Expedients ready to be humbly tendred, if they may be accepted, which offer at leaſt at the aſſoyling all theſe difficulties and diſturbances, and the putting that whole Land (by Gods bleſſing) into a quiet and flouriſhing eſtate: but it was judged more convenient to exempt them from the publication of this Paper, that the Parlament might neither ſeem to have their Wiſdomes foreſtall'd, if they ſhall adviſe on other Expedients, nor their Counſels revealed, if any thing offered there ſhould happen to find favour in their eyes.

There are ſome things wherein the Reader is to be premoniſh'd, to ſtop his wonder how ſuch deſtructive Reſolutions could paſs, or be let paſs from the hand of Authority all this time. For which conſider,

1. Thoſe that were in *England* muſt ſee and hear with their eyes and ears that were in *Ireland*, and according to Informations given from them, were neceſſitated to ſquare their directions to them: Now it is no wonder if thoſe that were but Strangers to that Land ſhould not (at firſt ſight) underſtand the compleat intereſt thereof; and ſo though their wils were zealous to that which was good in the general, yet their underſtandings not fully inform'd (ſo ſoon) might cauſe them to deviate in ſome particular.

2. When theſe Reſolutions were at firſt taken to tranſplant the Irish univerſally, the face of things much differed in *Ireland* from what it appears now; and that might be conveniently propounded (nay done in one time) which will not ſo well ſuit with the ſeries of Affairs at another: then Neceſſity might have made it fit to have tranſplanted, now the unfitneſs makes it not neceſſary: So that both the one and the other might have been juſt and unjuſt, as they were accommodated to ſeveral times and conditions. It is impoſſible for men to foreſee all things; Events failing from what was preconceiv'd, may make Counſels vary from what was precontriv'd.

3. Though thoſe that ſate at the Helm ſaw it neceſſary in their Wiſdomes to give out ſuch Orders in thoſe times, yet in their Goodneſs we ſee they did not think fit to execute them even till this time, as if they did wait a time to be gratious to the Irish Nation, and would expect all opportunities that might enable them therein, and any new accidents intervening, that would conſpire thereto.

And now (God having put the ſame into their hands

hands at preſent) it is the earneſt ſuit of many, and ought to be the deſire and prayer of all moderate and ſober Chriſtians, that he would put into their hearts to embrace and uſe it; That Mercy may be remembred in the midſt of Juſtice, by thoſe who themſelves deſire not Juſtice without Mercy, and that thoughts may be had of what indulgence is due to the frailty of a man, as well as what ſeverity to the obſtinacy of a Rebel; it being an Heroicknes not to inſult upon an humbled Enemy, and Wiſdome not to make him deſperate.

The converſion of that Nation will be a more pious work than their eradication, it was that was pretended, faſted, prayed, preach'd for ſo often; ſure it was intended. God hath complicated our good wtih this mercy, as if he would not let Men be too cruel to thoſe poor blind Natives, without being ſo to themſelves; and would reward their compaſſionate thoughts towards them with the many good effects that will thereby accrew.

The unſetling of a Nation is an eaſy work, the ſetling is not, it has coſt much Blood and Treaſure there, and now Prudence and Mercy may accomplish the work; the opportunity for it, will not laſt alwaies, 'tis now; the Phyſicians late aſſiſtance deſpairs, where his early help might have been proſperous. The Souldiers (there) exhauſted with indefatigable labours, hope now for their reſt. The old English, having lain ſo long under Taxes, wait for their Jubile. The Adventurers expect ſome Crop at length, from what they have long ſince ſo plentifully ſown. The State may challenge a Revenue from what she has ſo amply expended on.

It

It had been better *Ireland* had been thrown into the Sea before the first engagement on it, if it will never turn to account, but still to expence: but the time is come when the Venture will defray the expence of the Voyage, if all be not shipwrack'd in the Harbours mouth; all there contrive quietness, pray for peace. This Transplantation is the main *Remora* that puts to a stand. The Seed-time was, the Harvest would come on. The Spring will hasten after so sharp a Winter. And how glorious a Victory will that be, when both the Bodies and Minds of a Nation are overcome! the first by power, the second by love? How will the Souls of the Irish blush hereafter, that they should have been once cruel against those, whom they find still so mercifull towards them? when Love shall hold a stricter rein upon them than fear, and make them wash away that Blood they have drawn from others, by Tears drawn from themselves. How shall they bless God for their Unprosperousness, and rejoyce in those Infelicities whereby they are made happy? And the English that are in that Land bid past cares, and fears, and present wants adieu, and leave those Hives they have been almost starved in, like industrious Bees, to repair their old Stocks with new Honey. How at ease will the State be from those cares, that, like Vultures, have continually preyed upon their hearts in the behalf of that Land? And what a pleasing sight will it be to *England*, instead of meagre naked Anatomies, which she received driven from *Ireland* in the beginning of a War, to empty her self of her young Swarms thither in the beginning of a Peace? If Antiquity deceive us not,

that

that Land was once called the Iſland of Saints; and if Novelty deceive us not again, it may find as ſtrange a change to good, as it had a fall to ill; God has made (in the nature of Inſtruments) the good or ill of thouſands beneath, to hang upon the breath of a few that are above. O what a guard had there need to be on their lips, whoſe words diſpence death! what prayers to God! what uprightneſs towards Man! If any Errours be committed, thoſe on the right are eaſyeſt cancell'd; It is better to ſave one innocent, than deſtroy many guilty perſons: but to make guilty perſons become innocent (by ſaving) how excellent will that be? How much more comfort will the heart receive hereafter, to hear the once poor erring Iriſh live good Proteſtants, honeſt Subjects, than to have heard they dyed blinded Papiſts, bloody Rebels? And there can come no glory from that ruine which may be avoyded. The moſt contemptible things carry Engins of death along with them; a Gnat, a Hair, a Raſin-ſtone can deſtroy, but great glorious univerſal agents (like the Sun) are the Parents of life; A ſtorm or accident may throw down a houſe, but art and induſtry are required to build it; and this way treads a deſtructive path, as hath been ſhewn, and therefore ſhould be no longer trodden in; God grant they whom this concerns moſt, may be as ſenſible of it, as ſome are whom it concerns leſs; that they may mind this Affair according to the greatneſs of its conſequent (which ſlights all mediocrity) and will be tranſcendently good or evil; and as Comets may reflect obliquely upon vnlgar men, but more eminently ſignifie for great Perſonages, ſo theſe

effects may be showred among the Common People, but will be poured upon the head of the Commonwealth. But I had forgot that I had said before, that Transplanting is an impossible work, and therefore it is enough to pray (and may hope to prevail among wise men) that they would be pleased to leave undone that which they are not able to do, which I take to be a reasonable and modest request.

FINIS.